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## CAPITALISM AND LIBERTY FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

Examination of Pseudo-Socialistic Fetishes from the Stand-Point of a Race-Conscious Social Democrat

By Isidore Ladorf

The capitalistic mode of production leads inevitably to the socialization of industries. The gigantic development of the principle of combination of individual fortune for the purpose of exploitation of organized and unorganized labor, in the shape of stock companies and trusts in our time, is a phenomenon of far-reaching importance and of deep significance as a transitory stage of socialization. The individualistic principle of competition is gradually superseded by its opposite. The purpose of stock companies and trusts is to eliminate entirely the element of competition and substitute co-operation and combined action.

The socialization of economic activities under the capitalistic regime is, however, accomplished in the interests of one class and to the detriment of the race in general. The capitalistic class takes advantage of the applied principle of socialization in its own, and only its own, interest. Capitalists are one-sided Socialists. They strenuously oppose any attempt to apply the principle of socialization in the interests of the people at large and the laboring class in particular. Out of mere selfishness they preach for popular use the gospel of individualism and hypocritically erect altars to the fetish of liberty—of the competition of the economically weak among themselves. Indeed, the more competition there is among the unorganized and economically weak, the easier it will be for the socialized and economically strong to exploit the former in all stages and in all ways. This is obvious enough. The strange thing, however, is that some not especially clear-headed men try to deduct socialistic theories from the anarchistic principle of liberty. They somehow do not distinguish between two entirely different terms—freedom and liberty; and this leads them into an abyss of confusion of thought.

Liberty is an individualistic ideal, while freedom is a truly socialistic ideal. Socialists want to abolish capitalistic liberty and inaugurate real freedom, by the means of all-sided and complete socialization of economic functions in the interests of the whole human race.

Now, what is liberty? In the first instance it is but a mere negation—the absence of open coercion. To build a system of thought on the basis of a mere negative term is a striking absurdity. Suppose somebody would attempt to build a system of public hygiene on the principle of absence of physical pain. What could be said in favor of such a system? The worshippers at the shrine of the capitalistic and anarchistic fetish, liberty, forget the old truth—the Sabbath is for men, not men for the Sabbath. They are never tired of repeating the platitudes that men are born for liberty. They forget that liberty is—as it necessarily must be—the deadly foe of freedom? Liberty means the rule of the physically and economically strong and the actual unfreedom of the rest. Liberty is incompatible with real equality, while freedom is unthinkable without it. Liberty is a principle of the sub-human world, while freedom is a purely human ideal. A tiger is at liberty to kill any animal weaker than himself. A man, however, can be free only in case he lives in a perfectly organized community, where he—in return for certain functions performed by him in the interests of society—is assured all the necessities of life and happiness.

Another term derived by Socialists from the capitalistic dictionary is the so-called class-consciousness.

If liberty is a fetish of the somewhat muddle-headed neophytes of Socialism, class-consciousness is the idol of narrow-minded, dogmatic, pseudo scientific Socialists of the orthodox type. Dogmatism, orthodoxy and narrow-mindedness are, however, dangerous symptoms of spiritual atrophy and degeneration. There was and is too much of it in continental and S. L. P. Socialism.

Let us now analyze the terms class-consciousness, class-struggle, which are so commonplace in the socialistic vocabulary. We have knowledge of the struggle between slave and master, between the privileged classes of the feudal period and the middle class, and witness now with our own eyes the combat between the middle class and the proletariat. Historically speaking, the class struggle was and is a mighty dynamic power for good or bad, owing to conditions. At certain periods of history the one or the other class represents the interests of the race in general and the fate of that class is closely

linked with the general interests of the race. So, the middle class not long ago represented the advanced guard of humanity in its struggle against feudalism which outlived its utility. At present, however, this same class is not only conservative, but rather reactionary, and the role of the advanced guard of humanity belongs by right to the proletariat. There was hardly a class in the history of humanity more conscious or rather self-conscious than the middle class. In fact, class-consciousness is a distinctly middle-class virtue or vice—just as we choose to view it. As a matter of tactics the proletariat has to fight the middle class with its own weapons and possess class-consciousness in order to be successful in its battle against a class-conscious enemy.

Let us not, however, make a virtue out of a necessity.

Class interests are in the end only a little better than individual interests as a motive for revolutionary activity. If the struggle of the middle class against feudalism would be only a struggle in the exclusive interests of that class, no earnest thinker, public-spirited man or poet would feel inspired to take part in that struggle. It was the interest of all humanity—rightly or wrongly conceived—which imparted the inspiration to noble needs and sacrifices on the part of the great actors of the French revolution. The middle class, after its selfish class interests were secured, became satisfied and used the new conditions to the advantage of selfish class interests.

Shall the proletariat be trained in the same narrow and selfish channels of thought and sentiment? Shall the proletariat repeat the same sad and sordid comedy of achieving only class interests under the guise of euphonious but empty phrases of fraternity (of the Cain variety), liberty (tiger liberty) and equality (after death) connected by the middle class at the dawn of its victory? Are not the class-consciousness and class struggle so emphasized by some fanatical antediluvian Socialists, exceedingly narrow and near-sighted? There must be a struggle between the proletariat and middle class, but this struggle is of an eminently deeper and broader significance, than any other class struggle in the history of humanity. It is only a class struggle, if viewed from the surface, but as a matter of fact a struggle of all the human race against social institutions, which have outlived their utility, a struggle of all the human race for the entire reconstruction of our present social fabric on principles of reason and justice, a struggle of a truly human philosophy of life against a conception of life peculiar to the beasts of prey.

And the S. D. P. is the party not of a single class—however large and worthy of sympathy—but the party of all the toilers, all producers, all the people working for a living, all those who honestly and without reserve have at heart the interests of the laborer in the broadest sense of that term.

Let us, therefore, preach race-consciousness instead of class-consciousness.

The struggle between classes in history is—if analyzed closely and candidly—in the end a struggle between old and new forms of life. Let the dead bury the dead and the living take their places with a sense of continuity of life and activity of the human race of which we all form infinitesimal links.

Profits of labor, and all wealth which is the product of labor, are one and the same thing. If you possess wealth that you did not create, you are in the possession of the profits of labor, and between your working neighbor's lack of wealth and your excess of it there may be an inseparable relation, if you will look for it. The man who lives on the profits of labor that some other man performed, is living on what belongs to the other man. That the law calls the profits of labor property, and helps you get possession, does, of course, make your holding legal, but it does not make it right. There are no laws for the men who produce; they are made for the men who steal.

The idolatry of profit is the worst heresy of the age. It consists in buying for one dollar that which is worth five, and of selling for five that which is worth one.

The fortunes of the rich are limited only by the work and forbearance of the poor, and the more the poor work and forbear the more the rich possess.

## THE DO-ALLS AND THE DO-NOTHINGS

By Sevenoaks

What confusion would reign among the Do-nothing rich people, if they could be made to realize what the Do-all poor people are to them. How—if they are not void of conscience—they would be covered with shame and shrink with fear at the sight of their own meanness. The Do-alls are to the Do-nothings what rain is to the parched land. Rain revives and reincarnates earth's productive forces. The Do-alls, by applying labor to land, or to land in its varied and modified forms, revive and reincarnate wealth. As the replenishing of the earth comes only through the action of moisture, of air, of heat and of cold, so the replenishing of the private fortunes of the Do-nothings comes only through labor—the sacrifice and the suffering of the Do-alls. Without the Do-alls doing the work, there would be no Do-nothings doing nothing. With the Do-nothings stealing and swaggering there will always be Do-alls sacrificing and starving.

The Do-alls earn all that they get and all that the Do-nothings steal. The Do-nothings devastate the earth by taking from it without giving an equivalent; they impoverish and ravish the Do-alls; they smite the hand that feeds them. Justice demands service—Duty. The Do-alls render service and measure up to her demands. The Do-nothings fail in this; they are a burden on the heart and a stone in the hand of the industrious. Consumption involves reproduction—or the race ends; the Do-alls consume less than is rightfully theirs and reproduce for all. Manipulating stock is not useful service; wrecking railroads is not useful service; living on per cents, "wrung from the hard hands of peasants," is not useful service; yet all who live on per cents, wreck railroads and conjure with stocks, are wearing clothes, eating food and living in houses, and their food, raiment and shelter is obtained at the expense of the Do-alls who sacrifice and suffer and do the work.

## SOCIALISM AND NATIONALITIES

The amazing muddle which the war has raised in the minds of the public finds nowhere a better illustration than in the arguments with which some naive fellows in our ranks try to justify their indifferent or pro-British attitude at the present juncture. What, they ask, do we Socialists care about the war? What concern is it of ours that a couple of small peasant republics are being wiped off the face of the earth? Are we not internationalists? Does not Socialism strive after the abolition of frontiers and the welding together of all peoples into one common human family.

The argument is a striking illustration of the hold which formulas sometimes get over our minds. With our national aptitude for thinking in schemes, we often express an entire complex relationship of phenomena in a simple and handy formula which through frequent use soon loses its conventional representative value and becomes in our eyes the exact equivalent of the relationship itself. It thus becomes, so to say, petrified. Like the proverbial man who cannot see the wood for trees, so we cannot see for our formula the living thing it represents, and we turn it into a fetish devoid of any tangible reality, but none the less revered.

The good honest souls who use the above argument are fetishists of this kind. They approach the idea of Socialism as a negation of nationalism in the same spirit in which devout Catholics approach their crucifix. They see in it not a mere symbol of a thing, but the thing itself, and handle it about divested of all its concrete meaning and contents. For did they not act in this fetishistic spirit, they would have noticed that the socialistic principle of "no frontiers," etc., cannot possibly mean the extinction of nationalities pure and simple, that is, as a matter of duty or as a condition of existence. They would have noticed, on the contrary, that Socialism, being primarily an acknowledgment of the fullest possible right of every human being to his personality, cannot in the same breath refuse that right to a nation, which is but a group composed of human beings. A man, be he a fair Englishman or a black Kaffir, has a complete right to his speech, thought, feelings, habits, and even prejudices; how can we refuse or suppress it in a group of them called a "nation"?—Th. Rothstein in London Justice.

Workingmen who carry the hod, lay brick, make shoes, run a lathe, rivet a boiler, print a book, or do anything useful, think they are working for themselves. So they are for about two or two and a half hours a day; the balance of the time they are working solely for a master.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATS STAND PAT! REVIEW OUR SPLENDID PROGRESS

By Eugene V. Debs

The unprecedented growth of the Social Democratic party during the last few months is a vindication of the past and a guaranty of the future. The showing is most remarkable; it is extraordinary and must extort exclamations of surprise and delight from the most pessimistic.

Since Jan. 1, 144 new branches have been organized—an average of twenty-four per month. Since the first day of the present month twenty-nine branches have been instituted—the largest number in the same space of time in the history of the party.

In view of these facts it is evident that the "manifesto," the referendum, vote thereon and the comment and controversy that followed, have not checked the growth of the party. Indeed, it is more rapid at this hour than ever before, and will continue at an accelerating rate, all predictions to the contrary notwithstanding.

The plain meaning of this progress in the face of all kinds of opposition, from within as well as without, is approval of the policy and tactics of the party and endorsement of the administration of its affairs.

Through all these weeks of controversy, at times violent and acrimonious, the party has expanded with undiminished vigor, and promises even better for the future. There is, therefore, all reason for Social Democrats to be serene, hopeful and confident—not the slightest for despondency or despair. The storm has been weathered—the gale has spent its force, the waves are receding and the skies are brightening.

Comrades, stand pat!  
The Socialist movement is having its trials. This is to be expected. The transition from capitalism to Socialism will be tempestuous at times. It were folly to even hope for all smooth sailing. The storm is as necessary as the calm. It is a part, an essential part, of the development.

Let no comrade despair of the future. Above all the quibbles and quarrels of individuals the movement sweeps on.

The Social Democratic party has struck root in American soil. Its general course has appealed to the American people and its propaganda has quickened the heart-pulse of the American proletariat. It has made mistakes enough to demonstrate that it is a human institution.

The cry of "bossism" heard in certain quarters can safely be ignored. The work accomplished, the results achieved, the progress made, which none can dispute, proclaim the truth and defy denial.

Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle were violently denounced as dictators and usurpers by their own followers. The "bosses" are sometimes those who

in wind and wave hold the party true to its destined course.

It is the storm that makes the sailor, the battle that makes the soldier, and it takes them both to make a Socialist.

Comrades, stand pat!

The question of "union" need worry us no more. Let those of our comrades who desire to join with the S. L. P. do so. That is their unquestioned privilege. Let the rest remain where they are. That is their absolute right. A united party is "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but it is a matter of growth and not compulsion. When conditions favor a united party, no power can prevent it. As long as cause exists for separate parties, no power can unite them. The matter will in time automatically adjust itself, and all the sooner if wrangling ceases and sense has sway.

Others may act as they choose, but I do not propose to be a party to an attempt to force men out of a party that suits them into a party that does not.

Whether we have one Socialist party or a dozen, we can fight capitalism, the common enemy, as one, if we only will, and he who seeks to prevent this is the real enemy of Socialism. Union of parties is of small consequence compared with union of action; and those who imagine that compulsory union would insure united action have something yet to learn about human nature.

Political co-operation has gone forward splendidly thus far without organic union. What has been done in some states can be done in all states. The question of party allegiance need not interfere with harmonious co-operation and vigorous action. Besides, only an insignificant part of the Socialists are members of any party. They are not interested in our imbroglio; they are only disgusted with our kindergarten contentions.

Let us rise above the level of bickering and strife and vituperation. The columns and pages of accusations, insinuation, denial and counter-charges alter nothing. I can better afford to permit a hundred falsehoods to go unchallenged than descend to the plane where they have their origin.

For the national and state campaigns each state can act for itself. The national candidates are already nominated. In each state a united ticket can be placed in the field by joint convention or otherwise, and this is the supreme demand at this time. The question of organic union is settled as far as it can be for the present.

This is the sane, sensible course to pursue, and will lead up to the highlands. We can then appeal to the hundreds of thousands of American Socialists and multiply them into a million or more at the ballot box in November.

Comrades, once again, stand pat!

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The municipal council of Zurich has decided to institute municipal insurance for all its employees. The insurance will be against accident, sickness and old age.

Some of the results of the Italian elections are known and so far the Socialists have more than held their own; at Milan especially, where there has been a great deal of petty persecution, they have gained several seats.

From reports from Bombay, British India, the condition beggars description. The starving people are afflicted with both cholera and smallpox. Thousands of dead are left unburied and are food for the dogs and vultures.

On a recent Sunday no less than 700,000 leaflets explaining Socialist principles were distributed in Berlin and its suburbs. The distribution was effected by thousands of voluntary distributors, and it is hoped in that way to bring knowledge of Socialism to many people, and to sow the seed for a rich harvest at the next election.

It is twenty-five years ago (May 26, 1875) that a union was effected at Gotha between the Eisenach and Lassalle parties. The party then took the name of the Socialistic Working Men's Party. Since then in spite of much persecution the Socialists have increased in power, and no better testimony to their might could be given than the fact that by their action they have practically defeated the Heinze bill.

The result of the elections is now known. The Clericals were formerly 112 and are now only 85 in number. Though some Socialists have lost their seats there is a net gain of five. If we turn to the number of votes cast we find that no less than 464,813 votes were

given for the Socialists, an increase of over 140,000 votes since 1894. The system of proportional representation has worked fairly well, for if in some places the Socialists have not carried so many candidates as they would have done under the old system as at Brussels, they have in other places, as at Louvain, Namur, Dinant and Antwerp, got seats which they would not have had.

The official count of the election in Paris disposes of the claim that the reactionary Nationalists are in a majority, though they apparently control the municipal council. The vote polled by the various parties was as follows: Socialists, 142,772; Radicals, 59,473; Republican, 22,717; Independent Republican (Loyal League), 26,795; Monarchists, 20,220; Nationalists, 122,650. In other words, 224,962 votes were cast for the republican form of government against 169,665 for reaction.

Private advices received by prominent Socialist leaders in London from St. Petersburg and Moscow indicate that the Russian government has entered on another vigorous campaign to prevent the spread of Socialism among the students of the universities. This is shown by the sentences passed on the 146 students who recently were arrested for participation in last year's disturbances. One student who owned a secret printing press has been sentenced to six years' incarceration in a fortress. Others have been sent to prison for shorter periods and prohibited from appearing in any university town for periods varying from one to three years. The rest have been ordered to spend the next three years in the eastern provinces of the empire on pain of a severer punishment in case they refuse to comply.



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### ENGLISH CO-OPERATORS DISAPPOINTED

The ideals of the founders of the English co-operative movement have not been realized. Starting with much hope and promise and advocated strenuously as the lever for the social emancipation of the people by men of great ability like Geo. Jacob Holyoke, it has for years degenerated until, in these present days of triumphant commercialism, it is regarded as little more than a mere joint-stock, profit-sharing, shop-keeping affair. The hope long entertained that it might become a great influence for social regeneration is practically abandoned, a result quite natural and in line with the narrow views of the practical managers.

At the recent congress of co-operators at Bristol the chairman delivered an address which showed how completely they have failed in their mission. He pointed out the need for political action, indicating that the co-operators are beginning to discern the futility of their methods so far as any general social advance is concerned. The success of co-operation as a business enterprise in England has been accompanied with a loss of the founders' ideals.

### PRODUCTION AND WAGES

Socialism would abolish money, as we know it. This would be accomplished by the socialization of the means of production, the abolition of private capital. To the capitalistic system of industry money is essential; it is an instrument of robbery. The skilled workman and producer of wealth is deceived by the wages system, which is well adapted to blind him to the manner in which he is wronged. He may be paid as high wages as he demands, but he is never paid more than the value of his services regulated by the supply of other skilled workmen in his craft. Of the value of his product in use the workman knows nothing, and it is this—the amount which the consumer must pay for the product—that the employer receives for the workman's services. Under the wages system, the workman creates so much value that the employer grows rich, but the workman himself remains poor. This is because wages are estimated and paid in money. The employer is enabled to appropriate the surplus value created by the workman. The wages system deals with human beings as one sucks an orange, casting away the skin when the juice is extracted.

Money which can be hidden away and hoarded, is not a true medium for the exchange of commodities; but that is the kind of money which the capitalist system requires, the kind that breeds and enslaves the human race. Socialism, by abolishing the wages system, would also abolish speculation in human life. It would secure equitable distribution of products upon the basis of labor time, and that every thinking man must see, if his mind is not perverted, is the primary measure of all value. With a system of labor time certificates, representing certain amounts of crystallized labor time which the laborer can carry conveniently in his pockets and exchange conveniently for crystallized labor time in goods, the workman in every branch of social exertion, manual, mental and moral, will receive all that he earns, gratify every want, live in the sunshine instead of the shadow, and be forever free from the refined cruelties of metal money and the wages system.

### THE NEW YORK OUTRAGE

The comrades of the Social Democratic party have a right to know what is going on among those who, in spite of the referendum vote deciding against organic union, have defied that vote and resorted to the most irregular and discreditable methods to force us to accept their terms. These methods have reached a fitting (and ridiculous) climax in New York state, where, in advance of any report on their own referendum, before the votes were all in and recorded, and, therefore, before the will of the members who choose to pay any attention to them could be known, the Socialist Labor party faction, with the aid and connivance of half a dozen Social Democrats, have had the temerity to declare that union had been perfected in that state. Having declared weeks

ago that the vote on the "manifesto" was "spurious," "illegal," "padded" and "dishonest," they went into a "joint" state convention on June 16 and solemnly declared by resolution that upon the alleged "illegal" and "padded" vote "the union of both parties in this state is definitely accomplished."

Now look at the facts concerning the "joint" convention which resorted to this culminating trick; first, however, remembering that the vote on their unity report was called for Tuesday, June 26, and that the state convention which declares the union of the parties "definitely accomplished," without waiting for the vote on the national issue, was held June 16, ten days before. Now the facts concerning this hoastful state union convention are briefly these: It was made up of sixty delegates, as follows: Fifty-three S. L. P. and seven S. D. P. Of the latter two represented branches long since defunct or moribund, and one individual delegate resigned from the S. D. P. months ago. The fact is that not more than four branches of the S. D. P. in New York state were represented in this convention, while all the rest, with a great majority of the individual members, entirely disapprove of the course pursued by four or five fusion promoters and protest against so foul an outrage in the name and under the guise of unity.

### REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY ROT

The Chicago Tribune says that Senator Lodge in his speech before the republican convention "tonched the heart of the matter" and "put the issue in a nutshell." And what did this Bay state statesman say? Among other things that McKinleyism has carried the country to the heights of prosperity, that wages are high, that good times everywhere prevail, that employment is abundant and that business men are forging ahead over calm waters. All of which is in beautiful republican accord with the sentiments of the statesmen of the Hanna and McKinley stripe, but entirely at variance with facts of common, every-day observation. Senator Wolcott, in his attempt to juggle with the truth, followed the same line of misrepresentation and repeated the old McKinley chestnut that there is employment for every man who wants it.

The matter to be most lamented in this tiresome reiteration of notorious falsehood is that it passes current with great masses of workmen, even the fellow with patches on the broadest part of his pants, and children hungry at home, while he roams the streets with no job and no prospect of one, accepting the assurances of capitalist statesmen that he is prosperous. These flabby partisans in patches never pause to inquire why it is if business men are having such smooth sailing the month of May broke all records in the number of that class who were compelled to surrender and become bankrupts. They are unable to see that wages paid to labor in 1900 have less purchasing power than wages paid ten or twenty years ago, or that if wages in some industries have been increased to per cent over the prevailing rate five or ten years back, the prices of all essential commodities that laborers must buy have been raised from 10 to 30 and even 50 per cent. Their idea of prosperity has been soaked into them by republican statesmen; it is a paltry rise in wages accompanied by an exorbitant rise in the level of prices. Then as to steady employment, there is absolutely no substantial ground for the claims made. On the contrary, employment is precarious and thousands of men in every large city and manufacturing district are without work and destitute. In Senator Lodge's own state only a few days ago over 200 men were discharged from a single mill at Worcester, and it is notorious that thousands of workers who are seeking employment in Massachusetts are not able to find it. In Connecticut the testimony of the secretary of a large manufactory is that every day men come there begging for work, and a visit to the factory doors in any city in the country will convince anybody save a republican politician or his duped and prosperity-doped followers that the claims of good times are false.

It is well that workmen remember that not only are the blustering claims of republicans plainly and undeniably contradicted by actual facts and conditions, but that the expenditure of millions of public treasure with the avowed and much vaunted object of expanding trade and commerce and, quite incidentally, of course, providing more jobs for them, has so far counted for naught in their favor. The policy of imperialism has not benefited the average American workman one farthing's worth. It has neither added to his pleasures nor taken from his burdens. For him there is no better condition in store under capitalist "liberty."

At Copenhagen the First National Congress of Danish trade unions has been sitting. Over seventy trade unions, representing 83,110 adherents, were represented by delegates. Delegates were also present from Sweden and Norway. Resolutions were passed asking that help be given to workmen out of work, and it was determined to found a workmen's bank and to establish co-operative stores.

## PLAIN TRUTH TERSELY TOLD

What is the use value of gold and gold standard laws to famishing men? Neither will now, nor ever did, produce a bushel of wheat or a peck of potatoes. Neither gold metal nor gold money can supply those things which are essential to sustain human life. Law and legality never yet fed the hungry or clothed the naked. Law and legality, impressed on a gold disc, never yet relieved human anguish or satisfied human needs. The needs of humanity can only be met by equitable distribution of the products of labor, and labor, though dragged in the dust and trodden under foot, is king—not law, not legality, not courts nor congresses.

The predatory rich proceed with their devastations on the assumption that they have a right to rule. By legal and illegal methods they have come into possession of the surplus values of labor. By making laws and breaking laws they have come into possession of government. There are humane and progressive rich people, but the predatory ruling rich of this "free" land are inhuman and retrogressive, and the sooner the people realize it and become their own rulers the better for them and for freedom.

You think that capital produces value and wonder how we could get along without capital. But have you ever known capital to produce anything? Did you ever see a plow that capital forged, or a locomotive that capital built, or a yard of cloth that capital produced? That watch in your pocket, or the shoes on your feet—did capital make them? This pen we write with, or this paper we write on, did capital make either? The source of all value is labor. Labor is also the source of all capital.

If there are men in your community who live without work, isn't it perfectly clear to you that some other men are producing what they consume? Does food grow and get itself prepared without labor? Does clothing weave, cut, fit and sew itself without labor? Do houses spring up without sacrifice of human energy? How do the men who build the houses, weave the cloth, make the clothing and raise the food live, compared with the men who live without work?

Did you ever think what heroic lives the rich live? They abstain from work, so the poor will not be deprived of a job; they steal the wealth of a man who works, so that he may not be burdened with taking care of it; they own and operate the government, so that the poor will not lose any time. O, the rich are very heroic, and it is hard to see how the country would get along without them. Then what a calamity it would be for the poor to have no rich.

The exploiting rich sometimes build hospitals for the poor; but they make the poor to occupy them.

They sometimes give charity to the poor; but they often withhold from the poor what belongs to them and would make charity unnecessary.

They sometimes build churches and pay preachers to tell the poor about the glories of the world to come; but they also infringe upon the rights of the poor in the world that now is.

Without laborers capitalists could not operate their capitalistic properties.

Without laborers capitalists could not accumulate fortunes from the land.

Without laborers capitalists would have no food to eat or clothes to wear.

Without laborers capitalists would be naked and hungry savages.

The laborer makes the capitalist and supports him when made.

The legality of the methods of the rich is beyond question. Having seized upon government and the law-making power, they have had the opportunity to legalize robbery, and it would be wholly their own fault if their methods were illegal. The justice of their methods is another matter. Legality has usurped justice.

Under wage-slavery the reward of the slave diminishes in proportion as his productiveness increases. With the aid of machinery the slave bestows on the wealthy an increasing amount of wealth and comfort, and on himself an increasing amount of wretchedness and want.

Individuals and corporations are able to procure the passage of laws because they are the lawmakers' masters and masters of the economic power of the country. They are able to practice extortion on the people because the people are economically powerless.

The rich are indebted to labor for the houses they live in; the clothes they wear and the food they eat. Labor is indebted to the rich for nothing. The rich would be unknown and capital unthinkable without labor.

No man goes without his dinner after he has earned it in order that another, who has not earned it, may eat, except the workman.

The poor are equally entitled to the protection of law with the rich, but the rich make the laws, and laws that the rich make never protected the poor. To have a title to protection and be continually subject to plunder is to be a slave to a delusion.

In a true democracy, administered to secure to all social needs and comforts, the indispensable resources and utilities of the nation should be owned and controlled by the people collectively, and not by a class hostile to the public welfare.

There is only one landlord by divine right—mankind; only one land question—how can it be used to the best advantage?

## NOTES AND COMMENT

The model American college president is a promoter with a pull on the surplus values of labor appropriated by the capitalist class.

Gallifet, the butcher of the Paris communards, is out of the French cabinet; but Millerand, the Socialist, remains. And the latter, by the way, is the chief orator in the functions connected with the great exposition.

The Northwestern university is to be commercialized, to keep pace with the "pillared pile of plunder" in South Chicago. But Harper, with Rockefeller's backing, has a long lead and the Northwestern's promoter must be up in the morning early to catch up.

The Baltimore Herald says that "Socialistic tendencies are far more prevalent in higher educational institutions than is generally supposed." Yes, and you're going to discover within six months that Socialist principles are far more prevalent in American homes than you suppose.

Chairman Hernly of the republican state committee of Indiana comes to the front with the very timely and very truthful statement that the trust question will really cut no figure in the campaign, for the very good reason that democrats are as much interested in the trusts as individuals as republicans.

Twenty-four hours after the promulgation of the Republican platform, every thinking, honest man realized that the country had been given a compound of deliberate misstatements, false claims and partisan buncombe, quite in keeping with the record of the party and fully up to its usual standard of hypocrisy.

The discovery has been made that a fellow employed as a detective by the St. Louis Transit company planted dynamite under one of the company's bridges. He is under arrest. He has been an office holder and is the son of the clerk of the Appellate court of the Fourth district of Illinois. It is hard to understand why this man, Havill by name, should be arrested for doing what the Transit company wanted done, while members of the posse comitatus who have killed striking workmen, also for the Transit company, go free.

The trend of the financial institutions of Chicago is strongly toward consolidation, although the two parties to which the financiers belong are professedly opposed to their schemes. The latest combine announced is that of the Lincoln National and Bankers' National banks. The first named, being the smaller, goes out of existence. Absorption is not the only process that is going on, for within four years six banks have failed. But the fellows with the biggest capital survive, and so prosperity is kept up.

Lord Roberts has invited the "Outlander Committee" to send thirty representatives of commercial houses of the Rand to Johannesburg to "assist the military authorities in the work of pacifying the mining districts." So this is the British idea of equal rights for all white men; to destroy the government of the native-born Boers and place the nondescript gold-hunting aliens in authority over them. And yet there are those who deny that this war has been instigated by and carried through in the interests of the capitalists!

It soaks into the apologists for capitalism very slowly that Socialism is spreading at an "alarming" rate in the United States. But we know of no country where it is needed more. Somebody named Thompson, hailing from Huntsville, Ala., has been making an egregious ass of himself, and giving another exhibition of the invincible hatred of the American capitalist class for freedom, by denouncing Socialists and labor leaders as "traitors." And as we read his class-conscious howl we expected him to wind up by advocating the thumb-screw and the rack for the intelligent workman who has mind enough to understand the class struggle and courage enough to cry "Down with the capitalist system of production, which makes the struggle necessary!"

Subscribe for the Herald.

## OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

At a meeting of the national executive board held at Chicago, Friday, June 22, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That a national campaign committee of fifteen be chosen from Chicago and vicinity, and that the chairman of each state committee become ex-officio a member of said national committee, the respective states to select as many members of their committees as they deem advisable."

In accordance with the foregoing resolution the following comrades were named to constitute the committee of fifteen:

John Doerfler, Robert Meister, Edward Zeigler, Gust Richter, August Mohr, Eugene Rooney, James Beattie, Joseph Finn, Philip Brown, W. C. Horgan, J. H. Greer, James Wright, Frank Kozak, Jacob Winnen, E. D. Wheelock.

This committee is chosen for the purpose of taking charge of work connected with the campaign and requiring immediate attention, and stands as the recommendation of the board unless otherwise ordered by the membership.

The attention of members is called to the fact that with the adoption of the constitution the tenure of office of the present executive board expires and the election of a new board of nine members becomes necessary. The clause of the constitution relating to the executive board reads as follows:

"A national executive board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called 'resident members,' and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the executive board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act, and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board."

The constitution also provides that the board "shall be elected by the national convention." But the interests of the party, to say nothing of any other consideration, require that the constitutional provision for nine members be complied with and a new board chosen immediately. Suggestions are, therefore, in order as to the best method of procedure to facilitate the election of a new board in accordance with the provisions of the constitution above quoted.

## EDITOR'S LETTER BOX

Comrade J. M. Reynolds of California sends the following question and asks for an answer through the columns of The Herald:

"Did the vote against the uniting of the Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party organizations mean that Comrade Job Harriman should be taken off the national ticket?"

The "manifesto" was directed solely against organic union with the anti-DeLeon faction of the Socialist Labor party. A majority of the members of the Social Democratic party voting on the question declared for no union, and subsequent developments have justified both the "manifesto" and the vote. That decision has been accepted by all loyal members of the party. The "manifesto" contained no proposition, or even a suggestion, to remove Job Harriman from the national ticket. He was nominated by the Social Democratic party convention at Indianapolis, and is today the nominee of the party for vice-president. The question as to whether he will continue in that relation or not rests entirely with him. Although the matter of organic union with the organization to which Job Harriman belongs was decided emphatically in the negative by our members through a referendum regularly instituted, the Social Democratic party, by its representatives, has repeatedly declared for political co-operation. This was rejected by those who favored organic union at any cost and under any conditions, and the expressed will of the majority voting on the question was repudiated and defied.

Notwithstanding this surprising and unsocialistic turn of affairs, the members of the Social Democratic party, including all who are temporarily in charge of its affairs, stand, as they always have stood, for political co-operation in the approaching campaign. Organic union was not perfected at Indianapolis, but political co-operation was made possible.

S. K.—What's the use? Such intellectual flubdub, while it may suit a large but certainly diminishing section of the flabby multitude, disturbs nobody and will get no "reply" from us. Let 'em splutter.

## The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

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## NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Sept. 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before July 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

## NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Mary Bonfield, Patton Junction.....	\$ .50
W. Bonfield, Patton Junction.....	.50
Mrs. Mary Bonfield, Patton Junction.....	.25
W. H. McDuff, Patton Junction.....	.50
W. H. McDuff, Patton Junction.....	.50
Louis C. McDuff, Patton Junction.....	.50
E. O. Winer, Porterville.....	1.00
E. E. Hanson, Mechanic Falls.....	1.00
L. L. Lestrang Taylor, Toronto.....	1.00
John Hittlerich, St. Louis.....	1.00
Previously reported.....	844.65
	\$850.90

## NEW BRANCHES

Milwaukee, Wis. (Scandinavian).  
New London, Conn.  
Weatherford, Texas.  
Baltimore, Md.  
Goodland, Kan.  
Dunlap, Wash.

## ONE SUNDAY AT SHEBOYGAN

On Sunday morning, June 24, eight coaches were filled with over 750 comrades, who left the city of Milwaukee to join their comrades at a picnic in Sheboygan. While this city is not booming itself, it was the very first which ever elected a Social Democratic alderman in the person of Fred Haak. There assembled comrades from Two Rivers, Sheboygan Falls, Plymouth and Manitowish. The comrades were greeted with two brass bands. Born Park, a picturesque and beautiful spot, was the place of final rendezvous. The comrades were entertained by singing from the Socialist Macnnerchor of fifty voices, the Concordia Singing society of forty, the Liederkranz of thirty and the Friedsanger-Bund and fourteen local unions participated to bring the gathering to over 3,000. The merriment was intense and the enthusiasm awakened for the Wisconsin movement there will show a tremendous result in the coming campaign.

Howard Tuttle and Seymour Stedman spoke in English, and Dr. Voelkel spoke in German. The committee on arrangements was August Mohr, at present a Social Democratic alderman in Sheboygan, chairman; Fred Gruiner, Henry Dose, Emil Noll and Charles Neumann, to whom especial credit is due for the excellent arrangements they had perfected and the precision with which the entire affair was managed. The comrades of Sheboygan telegraphed to Comrade Berger of Milwaukee expressing their regret at his absence and extending their greetings to him.

On the band stand and throughout the grove, lithographs of E. V. Dehs made it plain to all that the great leader of the American workmen was there enshrined in the hearts of all the comrades, who in Wisconsin this fall will make such gains as to set a mark for others' emulation. The conservative republicans in the town concede now that in the next election the Social Democrats are claiming everything in sight. Now is the time for the comrades to preach the gospel, raise the banner and march forward. The cause and duty calls and those who appreciate the opportunity that now awaits will rise to the emergency.

## QUINCY "STANDS PAT"

To the Members of the Social Democratic Party of America:

Whereas, The Social Democratic party of America has by a majority vote through the referendum declared against union with a faction of the Socialist Labor party; be it

Resolved, That we, members of Branch No. 21, Quincy, Mass., abide by said referendum vote and indorse the national executive board in the stand taken with reference to the discharge of the committee on union; and further be it

Resolved, That we favor accessions to our membership by individual application, and not by concessions to a body demanding immediate political or official recognition.

Signed, William M. Packard, Secretary Branch No. 21, Quincy, Mass.

Comrade Gustav Frankel of Butte has been appointed state organizer for Montana. The state will have a full Social Democratic ticket in the field.

Comrades Jas. T. Van Rensselaer, Los Angeles, and M. V. Rork are state organizers of the S. D. P. for California. They are announced to speak as follows: Rork—Sunday, July 1, at the Temple, 117 Turk street; subject: "The Law of Life." Van Rensselaer—Sunday, July 8, at the same place; subject: "Socialism Inevitable."

## ALLMAN ON SITUATION

## IN NEW YORK STATE

Comrade Editor: Two weeklies, one published in New York and the other in Haverhill, contain letters from certain persons reflecting upon the truthfulness of my account of occurrences which took place recently in Local No. 20, S. D. P. As these two papers have quite a record for printing everything against and refusing to publish anything in defense of members of the S. D. P., I will not send a copy of this to them. I simply hold myself responsible to my comrades through the columns of our party paper. A certain Mr. Spranger, who persists in calling himself secretary of Branch No. 20, writes one of these letters and inter alia says that his local has done nothing contrary to the principles of the S. D. P., and is still loyal to that party. I will not enter into controversy, but simply inclose the two following postal cards written and signed by that man and sent by him to Comrade William Hayes:

"Dear Comrade: The next meeting of New York Branch No. 20, S. D. P., will be held at 310 Mott avenue, on Wednesday, May 9, at 8:15 p. m. At the joint meeting of the S. L. P. and S. D. P. branches of Bronx borough, on May 4, it was unanimously decided that we take joint action. Our next joint meeting will be held at 547 East One Hundred and Fifty-seventh street, on Friday evening, May 11, at 8 o'clock."

"Ernest Spranger, Secretary."

It will be seen that joint action is proposed in this postal card. The last referendum vote decided against party unity, yet these people meet with the S. L. P. in their clubrooms and have recently recognized that party to the extent of sending delegates to a joint state convention of that party. If that is not acting contrary to the will of the S. D. P., then I do not understand my mother tongue. Now, read this second communication, which plainly proves that they have severed all connection with our central body, the city central committee:

"No. 317 East One Hundred and Forty-ninth Street, New York, June 9, 1900."

"Comrade Hayes: This is to notify you that our branch has decided to withdraw its delegates to the city central committee. You are, therefore, no longer a delegate to that committee. Respectfully, Ernest Spranger, Secretary New York Branch No. 20, S. D. P. of America."

There is another abusive communication in the two alleged Socialist papers before referred to, but it is from one whose statements have long been taken charitably by the comrades here. He belongs to a certain coterie who appointed themselves a state committee which was recalled by a majority vote of the comrades who elected them. The secretary of this state committee being a certain person guilty of the unsocialistic and ungentlemanly breach of confidence of using private letters for public and malicious purposes and misconstruing their contents in order to do so. It is well known that the members of this state committee drew upon their imaginations for their facts, and as their imaginations were not very vivid their "facts" were not strikingly self-evident. By the way, this state committee, although recalled from office by a vote of the members on April 10, continued its functions, and in conjunction with a state committee representing the rejected remnant of the S. L. P. called a "joint" state convention, and I think while writing that I might as well turn from the insignificant subject of the personalities directed against myself to one more insignificant but still more amusing and funny, namely, that "joint" convention. The joint convention met in a joint on East Fourth street on June 15. Its make-up consisted of some very good beer, some very bad shyster lawyers, thirty delegates from the S. L. P., six delegates from an alleged S. D. P., and a few hysterical females who always most do congregate in S. L. P. joints. Of the six delegates present from the S. D. P. two were from newly founded branches up the state and four were from this city, where the convention is being held. Now, we have twenty branches in this state, and fourteen of them are located right here in this city. Where does the "unity" in this state come in, when only six out of twenty locals are alleged to be in favor of unity and in this city where delegates could walk to the convention hall only four out of fourteen locals are represented? And how represented? Local No. 4—of which it was stated by Mr. Dwyer at an open meeting at 1495 Broadway, Brooklyn, last Thursday, June 14, in the presence of Comrade Pressman, Messrs. Matchett, Brewster and myself, that it was dead—was represented by Joseph Baroudeas, whose resignation from our party was printed over his own name in the S. L. P. organ recently. Now, how can a branch which is said to be defunct be represented by one who has resigned from our ranks? How can the S. L. P. even pretend to believe that Mr. Baroudeas represents us, when they themselves printed his resignation in their official paper?

Brooklyn, Butcher's own borough, sent only one delegate, and that one from Butcher's own local, which meets in Butcher's own house, and Butcher

himself was that one delegate. All other locals in Brooklyn refused to participate and have written letters to me indorsing the N. E. B. and send delegates to our city central committee. The comrades here refuse to be transformed into the "tail of a kangaroo." We are going to struggle for the genuine S. D. P., and will certainly put a full ticket in the field, but we are not blustering. Our end will be achieved by quiet and unrelenting work on the part of nearly all the comrades here, and among them yours fraternally,

James Allman.

## PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONVENTION

To the Pennsylvania Branch of the S. D. P.:

At a meeting held by Local No. 5, Social Democratic Party, Philadelphia, Pa., the following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, In accordance with the decision of the referendum, the controversy about the so-called "unity" question was settled.

Whereas, We have by this blundering neglected our duty to the S. D. P.

Whereas, We are on the eve of the first great national campaign of the S. D. P. with its standard bearer, E. V. Debs.

Whereas, We have several branches of the S. D. P. in Pennsylvania but have neglected to organize a state organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, To call upon all the branches of the S. D. P. of Pennsylvania to consider the necessity of holding a state convention for the purpose of nominating state officers and state electors, and also to organize a state committee:

Resolved, To publish this resolution in the S. D. Herald and Appeal to Reason. Also to send a copy to the various branches of this state and to advise the comrades that the convention should take place in Philadelphia on July 29, 1900.

The method of representation to be as follows:

First. Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are members in good standing; any representative, if elected, shall be entitled to one vote for each member whose name is attached to his credential, and provided that no member shall sign his or her name to more than one credential.

Second. Branches not sending their own representative may select those of other branches of this state to represent them, provided, that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature attached here-in provided.

Third. All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified by the secretary of their respective branches.

M. GILLIS,

Organizer.

B. BICHOVSKY,

Chairman.

M. MAGOLESKY,

Vice Chairman.

W. SALINSKY,

Treasurer.

J. FEINMAN,

Recording Secretary.

P. S.—All the officers of the various branches are requested to call special meetings to take immediate action and report the result to

M. GILLIS,

1007 S. 3d street,

Philadelphia, Pa.

## LOWELL, MASS., SPEAKS OUT

The following resolutions were passed at the regular meeting of Branch No. 56 of Lowell, Mass., June 8:

"Whereas, The spirit manifested by the S. L. P. faction and their assistants at the meeting of the unity conference (so called) on May 20 was a spirit of disunion calculated to injure instead of help the cause of Socialism;

"Resolved, That we indorse fully the position taken by Comrades Haile, Debs, Stedman and Berger, and renew our pledge of loyalty to the S. D. P. and its officers, believing that past experience will prove a blessing in disguise and teach us in the future to steer clear of misalliances with those who put personality and prejudice before principle."

F. H. Scales,

Secretary.

## CONNECTICUT STATE CONVENTION

To all organized and unattached Socialists of Connecticut: A joint convention of the Social Democratic and Social Labor parties will be held at New Haven, Wednesday, July 4, 1900, at 9 a. m., to which all Socialists believing in Social Democratic principles are invited, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the next state election and to do other business proper to be done at said convention. The delegates and members should meet at the New Aldrich house, 164 State street, New Haven, Conn.

Per order Louis Schidt,

Secretary S. D. P.

## SOMERVILLE, CONN., ALSO

Branch No. 7, S. D. P., of Somerville, Conn., on June 10 received circulars and lists of various questions from some kind of conference committee, asking us to vote on the majority report. We

## LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

**CALIFORNIA**  
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free.  
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.  
Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.  
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.  
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 123 1/2 Spring St., J. France, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m., at Foresters' Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m., at 2408 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1619 Walnut St.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m., at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

**CONNECTICUT**  
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

**ILLINOIS**  
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m., at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 4 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Gelsler, Secretary, 728 W. 9th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 9 a. m., at 5002 Line Street. J. A. Ambroz, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sunday at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 652 E. 57th St.

**INDIANA**  
Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

**IOWA**  
Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. H. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollacut, secretary.

**KENTUCKY**  
Branch No. 1, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 182 Foote ave.

**MARYLAND**  
Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 509 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month, at Lanier's Hall, 31 Pleasant St. T. H. Cusack, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Euley, 288 Merrimac St.

Branch No. 23, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 21 and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

have committed ourselves to the decision of the referendum vote, and by this decision all negotiations of the committee on unity were annulled and discharged; therefore we cannot recognize the committee on unity as a body which represents the S. D. P. Consequently we refuse to vote on the above named majority report.

In behalf of Branch No. 7, Somerville, Conn. W. J. Sansoncy, Secretary.

## NOTES FROM THE FIELD

The Red Lake Falls (Minn.) branch "stands pat" against organic union.

Social Democrats will meet in convention at the Temple, Turk street, San Francisco, Saturday, July 7.

The Social Democratic party of Oregon will hold a state convention at Portland, Thursday, July 12.

John D. Bennett, another prominent mid-roader, of Lamoni, Iowa, is out for the Social Democratic party.

In another place will be found the call for a state convention in Connecticut. Comrade Louis Schlaf writes that the purpose is political co-operation and not organic union.

Persons interested in the Social Democratic party and residing in the vicinity of New London, Conn., are invited to correspond with H. Dorkin, 3 Crouch street.

All persons residing in the vicinity of the Brooklyn navy yard and wishing to join the S. D. P. are requested to communicate with Julius Bychow, 9 North Portland avenue, Brooklyn.

Branch 58, Quincy, Mass., at a regular meeting June 14 voted unanimously in favor of the constitution as submitted, also to uphold the executive board in all its actions and at the same time re-opening of the alleged unity conference.

The demand for the portrait of Comrade Debs is increasing every week, each day bringing a lot of orders from all sections of the country. It is a splendid thing for campaign purposes. Sent to any address, securely inclosed in tube, for 10 cents. Proceeds from the sale go to the campaign fund.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

**MICHIGAN**  
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. G. Rogers, Secretary.

**MINNESOTA**  
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

**MISSOURI**  
St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Patnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

**MONTANA**  
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owensley Block. J. Frankel, Sec.

Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

**NEW JERSEY**  
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 81 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For participation address Paul Eberding, 1236 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6, Newark, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Hotel St. 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Landner, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

**NEW YORK**  
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 129 W. 90th St. Ellsabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 2 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Soerum St.

Branch No. 19, New York, meets every Friday, at 5 p. m., 392 Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.; Secretary, Aaron N. Sadofs, 210 Clinton st.

**OHIO**  
Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.; Secretary, Aaron N. Sadofs, 210 Clinton st.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schwe, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1118 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1834 Fritz St.

Branch No. 11, Cincinnati, meets every Friday at 4:30 P. M. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 9 to 10. I. Gerson, Secretary.

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., at Funk Hall, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 215 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 4:30 P. M. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 9 to 10. I. Gerson, Secretary.

**WASHINGTON**  
Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 415 11th Street.

**WISCONSIN**  
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets first Monday of the month at Brewers' Headquarters, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kailer's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary, 1213 Superior St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meiler's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 381 23d St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild 8 street.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Krans' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 112 23d St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

**HYPOCRISY**  
and Labor's Appeal to  
By E. J. French.

A pamphlet of 45 pages of good reading matter for church folks and others interested in the Labor Question. Price, 5 cents; 40 cents per dozen. Send orders to W. L. Reynolds, 267 Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill.

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KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

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## FACTORY LIFE IN ENGLAND

*Fugate in "The Clarion"*  
Hard and gray Lancashire. I have been to the land of the hard-headed weavers; nay, I have done my share in those filthy factories. Know ye not, gentle reader, of the privileges and benefits which accrue from assiduously fulfilling the duties of factory life?

Working over my looms, my custom all day long, upon my secluded moments a thought did steal. I raised my head and looked around for inspiration, for some hope of reprieve. Only yesterday I had wandered over breezy moors, had bathed in a clear northern stream, heard the birds twitter, seen the lark soar, and lost myself for hours among trees covered with honeysuckle and ivy. But now I say with Hamlet:

My sinews grow not instant cold,  
But bear me stiffly up.

The scene is changed, for, instead of things beautiful, there is a dirty, white-washed wall, black, greasy rumbling wheels, and myriads of pale faces on every side. It is fearful to realize, as I have many times done, that there is hardly a healthy, happy face to be seen in such a place. Often have strenuous efforts been made to find such faces, but, alas, those thin white dials are alone characteristic. I have noticed boys and girls at the age of ten enter the mills with bonny, cheerful faces, bright eyes, and with smiles that only children can wear. Watch them, and sooner or later the palor, weariness, and headaches have crept into their lives, and the sight of them ceases to gladden your heart.

Is there any wonder when you know that the air of the factory is filled with microscopic and large pieces of china clay, fat, and iron. In addition you have scores of persons breathing their waste products into the same receptacle, and the lavatories of the place are only a few yards from you. I well remember the occasions when I could not partake of my breakfast on account of the stench proceeding from the latter. Twice per week every loom has to be swept, and on those days the filth of perhaps a thousand looms is brushed off the machinery, and after floating in the air finally settles on the floor. The deposition of fine dust often forms layers half an inch in depth on undisturbed parts of the machinery. From this one can judge the amount which must reach the lungs of the weaver, and the subsequent stagnation of the blood is obvious.

This is not all. In winter you commence at 6 a. m., half asleep, tired from yesterday's work, and with very little, if any, hope for the day. You enter the place, the noise from which deafens you, and the hundreds of yellow lights make you almost sick. Bah, I can feel the cold steel even now, and the sad weary monotony of those days, haunts me. There is so little cotton, and so much artificial coating of wax and clay, that the frost snaps the delicate threads, and then your drudgery begins. To prevent this frequent breaking of the threads the law allows the manufacturers to send steam into the mill, and only the experienced know what those steam jets mean. Yes, I have felt my clothes growing damp, I have wiped the condensed water from the surface of the cold steel, and after a few years the indelible seeds of rheumatism have been sown in my body. All this time the noise is as loud and irritating as ever, the air is getting sickly, the lights are consuming the air, and your heart is growing weary.

Can you imagine that such slaves find pleasure in their work? Would you expect to find human beings sanctioning such conditions of life? The truth would shock you. I am just thinking of a group of women—many of them mothers—who got me sacked for opening one of the ventilators on a hot summer's day. These women were absolutely ignorant of the necessity for pure air, their faces were pale and shriveled, and they bore children almost periodically. There was one poor wretch who continued at her work until a month prior to giving birth, and who tried to obtain re-employment a fortnight after the event. It is impossible to exaggerate the horrible influence which such a life must have on the future generations.

I have not mentioned anything about the life in summer. I would rather take you to one of the weaving sheds on some glorious July day and let you smell the place. The weaving sheds stink, and what wonder when the temperature is often 90 degrees F., steam jets are playing over your shoulders, and perspiring bodies are covered with damp, dirty clothes. The law states that from .04 to .06 per cent of carbonic acid gas is the limit for pure air, but I have made quantitative experiments with limewater, and found the quantity to be as much as 2 and 3 per cent. Any scientist knows that this quantity of carbonic acid gas is over fifty times that fixed as the limit by sanitary law, and it means absolute destruction of health to all the unfortunate victims.

I once tried to grow some peas in a flower-pot under my looms. My God, it was a lesson to all biologists. To see that pale, sickly, straggling thing attempting to reach sunlight was pitiful. Not a single specimen ever bore good leaves, never tell of flowers and fruits. The weavers saw these things, and I pointed out what was only too obvious, that the whole organization of the plant

was stunted and diseased and suggested a like fate for ourselves. In consequence, they designated me a crank.

I intended criticising a noted labor man of the north, who stated that factory life had a stimulating effect on the minds of young people. His ideas were based on the fact that a certain young man, once a half-timer at the mill, had been placed at the top of a government scholarship list open to the United Kingdom. Enough, when you learn that this leader kept every one of his children out of the mill.

Meanwhile, the wheel goes round, and our army is preparing the way for extension of such diabolical industries.

### LAND VALUE TAXATIONISM

Who is the land monopolist, so far as the working-class dweller in towns is concerned? Surely it is the man who draws rent from him for the place in which he sleeps. In most cases this individual is the leaseholder who pays a ground rent to the freeholder—the land monopolist, from the land-taxer's point of view—but whether he be freeholder or leaseholder, what difference can the taxation of land values make to his tenant, or how can it free the latter from the evils of land monopoly? Generally speaking, a man having a house to let lets it for as much as he can get. Whether he is a leaseholder or a freeholder makes no difference to the tenant as tenant, and whether the total ground rent goes into the pockets of the individual freeholder or a considerable portion goes into the national or municipal exchequer makes no difference either. That it makes a difference to the other direct taxpayers or ratepayers we readily admit; but we are just now considering the matter from the point of view of its effect on the monopoly of land, and it is clear to us that in this respect the taxation of land values can produce no effect whatever. The man who holds land to cultivate it for profit, or to build houses on it for profit, is the real, active monopolist so far as the common people are concerned, and whether he, as freeholder, pockets the whole of the "swag" himself, or, as leaseholder, shares it with another thief in the background, or is made to hand part of it over to the state or the municipality in order to relieve other capitalists of part of their burdens, makes no real difference to his actual monopoly of the soil.

In the main the monopoly of land is pretty much the same as the monopoly of other means of production; the monopoly is held for the purpose of exploiting labor in one way or another. It makes no material difference to the exploited workman whether the employer rents or owns the machine with which he (the workman) is exploited. So with a factory, and so also with the land upon which the factory stands. When a man rents a factory he does not do so for amusement, but for profit. That profit he makes by the exploitation of the "hands" whom he employs. Now, he exploits these hands in precisely the same fashion and to exactly the same extent whether he simply rents the factory or it actually belongs to him. But say he rents it at, say, £50 a year; his rates and taxes would be about another £10 a year. The ground rent—forming part of the £50—would be, say, £10 a year. Now, suppose the £10 a year which the factory holder at present pays in rates and taxes were taken from the ground rent, it would simply increase the balance of the sum total of his exploitation left in the hands of the factory holder. No one supposes for a moment that he would, therefore, reduce the exploitation of his hands in proportion to the amount of taxation of which he was relieved. Thus, at the utmost, the taxation of land values in this instance would simply mean shifting the burden from the shoulders of the capitalist exploiter and putting it on those of the ground landlord.—From Justice, London.

### Slavery in Hawaii

Mr. Sewall, special agent of the United States in Hawaii, has just submitted a report on labor conditions in the islands. It is so sugar-coated that the average reader might imagine it a seventh heaven of bliss to be permitted to labor under contract in the islands. It reads like those special pleas which used to be made to show what a beneficent institution slavery is. The few cold facts which cannot be concealed in the document are what the working people of this country want to know. They are:

1. Contract labor exists in the islands. 2. Agents of the United States scour Europe and bring laborers to Hawaii under contract. 3. The terms of the contract are such that the laborers are practically slaves for many years, if not for all time. 4. Whipping, fining, and all the barbarous adjuncts of such compulsory labor are in full force. Many men desert and face starvation rather than stay in contract labor slavery.

The people of this country have made their fight against the horrors of contract labor. It is in some respects even worse than slavery. It is now permitted and excused, even commended, in Hawaii, one of our possessions, and, presumably, an integral part of the United States. What will be the next step?—Washington Correspondent

## ORGANIZATION WANTED IN EVERY STATE OF THE UNION

### California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

### Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

### Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa. A. W. Ricker, Lone Tree, Iowa.

### Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

### North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eldness, Towner, N. D.

### Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

### Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every village precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

### Attention, Nebraska

Persaps living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

### Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

### To Texas Socialists

For purpose of state organization, the Bonham Social Democratic branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

## AMONG THE TOILERS

The strike of the journeymen horse-shoers in Buffalo has been settled.

The Massachusetts legislature is considering a bill for the establishment of a state printing office.

The United Brewery Workers of America will hold their twelfth national convention at Detroit on Sept. 9.

General housework girls of Decatur, Ill., are holding meetings for the purpose of bettering the condition of this class of workers. It is stated that a union will be organized.

The Buffalo Trades and Labor council and the directors of the Pan-American Fair have reached an agreement that guarantees union wages and citizen labor in the construction of the exposition buildings.

The Building Trades council of Minneapolis, Minn., has issued a circular to the architects and contractors, stating that hereafter no mill work, bars or bar fixtures will be set up or put in a place unless they bear the label of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' union.

Business Agent W. J. O'Brien of the New York branch of the National Granite Cutters' union, states that after a strike of fourteen weeks the eight-hour day has been granted in all of the 103 cities of the United States under the jurisdiction of the union.

A late accounting by the Tobacco Workers' union shows that seventy-nine manufacturing concerns are now using the organization's blue label, and list and patronage are both growing rapidly. With the foregoing fact in view there is no occasion for unionists to claim that there is no union label tobacco on the market.

Gen. Gallifet resigned nominally on the ground of ill-health, but it is said that he disapproved of the way in which Waldeck-Rousseau referred to the officer who communicated some official documents to a Nationalist deputy. Now the reactionary newspapers are praising the general, but they are very disappointed in another minister of war having been appointed. No one can like Gallifet, remembering the part he played in the suppression of the Commune, but he undoubtedly helped the republic by taking office last year.

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## THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its abject to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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